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Occupational attainment in Germany and the United States 2000-2016: The role of gender and immigration status

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Occupational Attainment in Germany and the United States 2000-2016

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CROSS-NATIONAL
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Occupational Attainment in Germany and the United States 2000-2016:
The Role of Gender and Immigration Status

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ABSTRACT

In many OECD countries, women are underrepresented in the highest status, highest paying positions and overrepresented in the lowest status, lowest paying positions. One potential reason for this inequity is the “motherhood penalty,” where women with children face more roadblocks in hiring and promotions. This research investigates occupational segregation among mothers and fathers and analyzes whether gender gaps in occupational status are more extreme for immigrant populations. Using data from the Luxembourg Cross-National Data Center (Luxembourg Income Study (LIS) Database), I compare changes in gender occupational segregation from 2000 to 2016 in Germany and the United States among immigrant and native-born parents. Multinomial logistic regression models and predicted probabilities show that despite instituting policies intended to reduce gender inequality in the workforce, Germany fares worse than the US in their gendered occupational outcomes overall. While the gap between mothers’ and fathers’ probabilities of employment in the highest status jobs is shrinking over time in Germany, particularly for immigrant mothers, Germany’s gender gaps in professional occupations are consistently larger than gaps in the US. Likewise, gender gaps in unskilled work participation are also larger in Germany, with immigrant mothers having a much higher likelihood of working in labor/elementary occupations than any other group—including US immigrant women. These findings suggest that work-family policies—at least those implemented in Germany—are not cure-all solutions for entrenched gender inequality. Results also demonstrate the importance of considering the interaction between gender and other demographic characteristics—like immigrant status—when determining the potential effectiveness of proposed work-family policies.

Keywords: Labor Market Outcomes, Mothers, Gender, Immigrants, Family Policy

INTRODUCTION

In the Global North, women are more educated, politically active, and economically participative than ever before (OECD Social Policy 2019, World Economic Forum 2020), but despite these marked improvements, persistent patterns of inequality remain (Eurofound 2016; World Economic Forum 2020). Gender gaps in occupational status still exist in many countries around the world. Mothers in particular face additional barriers to entering into and progressing within certain occupations, a concept scholars deemed the “motherhood penalty” in the literature (Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann 2012; Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007). To combat these persistent divides, many OECD countries have implemented policies intended to eradicate gender gaps in the economic sphere, offering paid parental leave and public childcare options for young parents (OECD 2021a). Unfortunately, government-led solutions like these may not be universally effective and have sometimes exacerbated disparities between low-SES and high SES women (Mandel 2011; McKay, Mathieu, and Doucet 2016; Misra, Budig, and Boeckmann 2011).

Using repeated cross-sectional data from the LIS Cross-National Data Center’s Luxembourg Income Study (LIS), this research examines gender inequality in the labor force, by investigating gaps in gendered occupational status in two OECD countries: Germany, a country that has implemented several governmental policies to address gender inequality, and the US, a country that has not implemented any comprehensive federally funded policies to support working parents. In addition, it examines how the interaction between gender and immigration status influence disparities in occupational outcomes. Thus, the comparison of occupational status in this study is four-fold: first, by gender (mothers compared to fathers), then by

immigrant status (foreign-born compared to native-born), third, by time (2000-2016) and finally, by country (Germany compared to the US). Longitudinal and cross-national studies measuring occupational status among parents, and particularly subgroups like immigrant vs. native-born parents, are sorely needed as work-family policies continue to evolve in OECD countries. The current study can provide contextual information about parental subgroups that can aid in policy formation and reevaluation.

THE MOTHERHOOD PENALTY

Social scientists largely agree that gender has been, and continues to be, a mechanism of social stratification in many OECD countries. Social and structural pressures on women to leave the workforce, or at least reduce their working hours, are strong, as women continue to take responsibility for the bulk of childrearing and household duties (England 2010; Hochschild 1989; Pailhé, Solaz, and Stanfors 2021), face discrimination in promotion decisions (Ibarra, Carter, and Silva 2010; Javdani and McGee 2019), and make less on average than their male counterparts (Blau and Kahn 2017; Christofides, Polycarpou, and Vrachimis 2013). These work-related barriers may result from “the particular [way] in which getting a living is integrated with raising children” (Elson 1995; 7). Because biology often forces women with children to take primary responsibility for a new baby (through pregnancy, birth, and breastfeeding), Elson (1995) theorizes that they are more likely to get locked into the later phases of childrearing as well. This theory is supported by empirical evidence showing that even after the “gender revolution” associated with women’s dramatic movement into the paid workforce, mothers often continue to take on the bulk of unpaid work in the home (Pailhé et al. 2021), and the most egalitarian households are often those in which fathers became involved in childrearing during the earliest stages of a child’s life (Earle and Heymann 2019; Patnaik 2019; Raub et al. 2018).

The expectation that mothers will shoulder most of the caregiving responsibilities leads employers to perceive mothers as less reliable employees and they may hesitate to hire or promote women with children (Correll et al. 2007). The difficulties mothers face in gaining, maintaining, and progressing in their careers contribute to a concept known as the “motherhood penalty,” where mothers face systematic disadvantages in hiring, pay, and promotions, among other things (Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann 2012; Correll et al. 2007; Jee, Misra, and Murray-Close 2019). Feminist theorists also argue that women have entered the workforce on “male terms,” and are subject to the hegemonic masculine nature of workplaces and bureaucracies (Hochschild 1997; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). In other words, the workforce, which primarily employed men with stay-at-home partners for much of the modern age has not fully adjusted to increases in mothers’ employment. But rather than “opting out” of the male-centric workforce for its failure to accommodate their needs (Percheski 2008), women often stay, instead gravitating towards traditionally female occupations, or feminine fields within traditionally male occupations—like social science or humanities in academia—with only some of the most highly educated women entering traditionally male-dominated occupations (England 2010). Even among the highly educated, the desegregation of occupations has stalled in recent years (England 2010).

IMMIGRANT MOTHERS AND GENDER INEQUALITY

Workplace gender bias and motherhood penalties may be even more severe among immigrant populations in various OECD countries. While both male and female immigrants, even highly educated immigrants, struggle to have job mobility and attain occupational prestige (Fellini, Guetto, and Reyneri 2018; Golash-Boza 2015; Hall, Greenman, and Yi 2019; Kanas and van Tubergen 2009), immigrant women face unique barriers that further marginalize them. They

are more likely than immigrant men to limit their career goals in favor of their spouses' goals, to lack social capital, and to decide to stay home with children because of strict gender norms in origin countries (Gomberg-Munoz 2017; Hagan 1998; Villares-Varela 2018). As a result, employment rates tend to be lower among immigrant women (Blau, Khan, and Papps 2011; Browne and Misra 2003; Djamba and Kimuna 2012; Man 2004; OECD 2006; Sprengholz et al. 2021), despite the increasing social legitimacy of female labor migration (Oishi 2005).

Building on the immigrant labor market outcomes literature, this research investigates gender occupational segregation among immigrant populations in the United States and Germany. Intersectional research on gender occupational segregation in the US often examines racial and ethnic differences rather than immigration status, or it isolates gender-immigrant studies to single racial groups like Hispanic or Black migrants (Mintz and Krymkowski 2010; Pettit and Hook 2009; Tesfai and Thomas 2020). These studies predictably find that having multiple marginalized identities (e.g. being Black and an immigrant and a woman) creates more barriers to occupational equality than just having one marginalized identity (Tesfai and Thomas 2020). In Germany, many longitudinal studies on immigrant occupational outcomes consider *citizenship status* rather than immigrant status (Pettit and Hook 2009; Sprengholz et al. 2021; Winkler 2019), which is a critical limitation in German immigration research. Of the gender research in Germany that does consider immigrant status explicitly, few studies include cross-national research components (Fleischmann and Höhne 2013). The current study addresses this limitation in the literature by comparing *immigrant* occupational outcomes by gender in Germany and the US over time. This research also investigates mothers' and fathers' outcomes exclusively and references work-family policies as a potential factor influencing mothers'

occupational outcomes, another element not included in many other studies on gender-immigrant occupational segregation.

In sum, while previous research has analyzed gender (and motherhood) gaps in occupational status cross-nationally and over time (Abendroth, Huffman, and Treas 2014; Budig et al. 2012), immigrant gaps in occupational status cross-nationally and over time (Chiswick, Lee, and Miller 2003; Pichler 2011; van Tubergen 2006; Winkler 2019), and immigrant status and gender, fewer studies have analyzed all four of these elements (gender, immigrant status, country context, and time) *simultaneously*. This research will expand the literature by including these four components and by exploring findings through a “motherhood penalty” lens. By investigating the disparities that exist not only between mothers and fathers, but also among native-born parents and immigrant parents, this study can better inform work-family policy conversations.

PUBLIC POLICY SOLUTIONS

Because motherhood plays such a significant role in female employment outcomes, policymakers have often focused reform efforts on family-friendly work policies, like parental leave and government-funded childcare. The least successful policies are those that offer mothers too much time off after a baby is born because the longer mothers spend out of the workforce, the more likely they are to stay at home long term, to take part-time positions, and experience downward movement in their careers (Aisenbrey, Evertsson, and Grunow 2009; Baker and Milligan 2008; Blau and Kahn 2013; Pettit and Hook 2009). Moderate length leaves, by contrast, tend to have positive effects on women’s career outcomes (Misra, Budig, and Boeckmann 2011). Family leave policies can also harm women when they are strictly reserved for mothers, by sending the message that family responsibilities are a woman’s affair and that only mothers

should expect to take time off when a baby is born (Adema 2013). In recent years, many countries have taken steps to counter this idea by establishing policies that incentivize fathers to take parental leave, using tactics like “daddy quotas,” where fathers must either take a portion of the leave or couples lose the benefit altogether (Dunatchik and Ozcan 2019; Patnaik 2019). Father quotas are quite effective at reducing long term gender inequality in the workforce—and within heterosexual relationships—since fathers are much more likely to take the leave when it is reserved for them (Budig, Misra, and Boeckmann 2016; Dunatchik and Ozcan 2019; Kotsadam and Finseraas 2011; Mayer and Le Bourdais 2019; Patnaik 2019; Raub et al. 2018). Public childcare policies are also highly effective at improving female labor market outcomes, like occupational status, likely because public childcare is a work-facilitating policy, rather than a work-reducing policy (Budig et al. 2016; Pettit and Hook 2009). In other words, providing a free childcare service for working mothers, as opposed to offering long parental leaves where mothers can stay home with children, allows women to return to work faster after having a child. Thus, the most successful work-family policies typically offer shorter leaves to mothers, encourage fathers’ involvement in parenting, and support mothers as they return to work.

Yet, even the more successful policies may not help all women equally, which could make it harder for vulnerable groups, like immigrants, to achieve high occupational prestige. Research finds that other vulnerable groups, like lower-SES families, may not take advantage of or benefit from work-family policies as much as higher-SES families do (Geisler and Kreyenfeld 2019; McKay et al. 2016; Misra, Budig, and Boeckmann 2011). Likewise, while public childcare is one of the best ways to facilitate mothers’ returns to work, this is mostly true of women with at least a vocational degree (Zoch 2020). The provision of free childcare is less effective for low-income and less educated women (particularly immigrant women) whose non-standard schedules

make it difficult to find available childcare during their working hours (Sandstrom and Chaudry 2012). Immigrant fathers are also less likely than native-born fathers to take parental leave when it is offered (Ellingsæter, Kitterød, and Østbakken 2020; Tervola, Duvander, and Mussino 2017) and immigrant mothers may hesitate to take up family-leave policies when they are intertwined with immigration policies (Straut-Eppsteiner 2021). These studies suggest that many work-family policy formulations may not improve occupational outcomes for lower income, less educated, and foreign-born individuals. Less clear from previous research is how countries with vastly different policy structures, but similar social norms and economic systems, might yield different outcomes for immigrant mothers' occupational status in these countries.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

While I cannot directly answer the question of how policies *caused* different outcomes in gender-immigrant occupation patterns, I can address how these patterns differ between two similar OECD countries with quite different approaches to work-family policy. I will compare occupational outcomes from 2000 to 2016 in Germany, with its more extensive and far-reaching work-family policies, and the United States, with its less centralized and more haphazard approach. With that in mind, this study investigates 1) how immigrant status and gender influence the occupational status of parents in Germany and the US over time, and 2) how gender-immigrant parental occupational status might differ in two countries with vastly different policy contexts. Work-family policy research suggests that in countries with more generous and work-facilitating policies and where cultural support for the policies is high, particularly in countries with “daddy quotas” and public childcare, women may have more opportunities for career advancement and fewer barriers restricting them from pursuing more prestigious full-time careers (Budig et al. 2012; Dunatchik and Özcan 2020). Research also suggests that work-family

policies are generally less effective for disadvantaged populations (Geisler and Kreyenfeld 2019; McKay et al. 2016; Misra, Budig, and Boeckmann 2011; Sandstrom and Chaudry 2012).

Surprisingly, I found that gaps in occupational status between mothers and fathers were *larger* in Germany across time than gaps in the US, suggesting that even in a context with more macro-level policies in place, disparities in occupational status still exist. I also found that immigrant mothers were over-represented in the lowest status jobs and under-represented in the highest status jobs in both countries regardless of policy context. This finding indicates that the immigrant experience should be considered in workplace gender equality conversations and policy development.

STUDY CONTEXT: GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES

Germany and the United States are ideal contexts to investigate my research questions because while the countries have relatively similar economic systems, sociocultural norms, and migrant-dense populations (CIA 2021b, CIA 2021a; Fuwa 2004; Wilde and Diekmann 2005), they have very different work-family policy approaches. I detail the economic situation, social and gender norms, immigration history, and public policy approach of each country below.

Economy

The economic systems in Germany and the US are fairly similar in terms of employment rates, dominant industries, and relative economic size. Being two of the largest, strongest, and most influential economies makes them excellent choices for international comparisons. Over the last 20 years, employment rates—among the working-age population (defined by the OECD as 15 to 64)—in the United States and Germany ranged between 65% to 77%, though the US employment rate has decreased over the period from 2000 to 2020—from 74% to 67%—while the employment rate in Germany has increased—from 65% to 77% (OECD 2021). In terms of

dominant industries, the two countries are also similar. Germany's industry sector (economic activities that produce material goods) is only slightly larger than the industry sector in the US, with 24% of the German population working industry jobs compared to 19% of the American population (CIA 2021a; CIA 2021b). By contrast, the service sector (economic activities that don't produce material goods) in the US is slightly larger than the service sector in Germany with 80% of the American population working in the service sector compared to 74% in Germany (CIA 2021a; CIA 2021b). Around 1% of the population in both countries is employed in the agricultural sector (CIA 2021a; CIA 2021b). Despite these slight differences in the size of various economic sectors, the distribution of the population across sectors is still much more similar than distributions in many other countries, particularly less developed countries (CIA 2021a; CIA 2021b). In addition, the US and Germany both have large economies in terms of GDP (CIA 2021a; CIA 2021b). While the US economy is much larger than the German economy, they both fall within the top four largest economies in the world (IMF 2021). Out of these four biggest economies (China, US, Japan, Germany), the US and Germany are the most similar in their major industries, government systems, *and* cultural and social norms, making them the best comparison groups among these large economy countries.

One important difference between the German and the US economies is their response to and recovery from the Great Recession, the most salient exogenous shock that occurred during the time frame of this study. While the recession affected both countries, the impacts on the US were much longer lasting and more severe. Though the time frame of the recession is usually cited as falling between 2007 and 2009, the US recovery was slow, with real GDP not recovering to pre-recession levels until 2011 and employment rates not recovering until 2014 (FRED 2021a, FRED 2021b). Experts attribute the severity of the recession to major housing sector damage,

credits for borrowing and spending not being as readily available, and government spending not being adequate enough to offset losses in the private sector (Bernanke 2012). Germany on the other hand emerged from the recession incredibly strong, without experiencing an employment decline or an increase in unemployment (Rinne and Zimmermann 2012). In fact, by 2009, Germany's labor market became fairly stable, and GDP began to steadily grow from 2010 onwards (Rinne and Zimmermann 2012).

Social and Gender Norms

Another crucial similarity between the US and Germany, at least relative to many other countries around the globe, are their social and gender norms. American and German perceptions of men and women, as well as their slow shifts towards more egalitarian gender role attitudes, closely resemble each other (Lee, Alwin, and Tufis 2007; Scott and Braun 2009; Wilde and Diekmann 2005).

However, the similarities that justify the use of Germany and the US as comparison groups cannot account for smaller differences in gender attitudes and gendered trajectories in the countries. Work-family trajectories are highly gendered in Germany and are less gendered in the US, especially when it comes to the highest prestige occupations, meaning that because of family-related barriers, German women may not be as likely as American women to be in high-status jobs (Aisenbrey et al. 2009). Women in Germany might also be less committed to their careers than women in the US, leading them to completely opt-out of the labor force more often, as was the case in the aftermath of COVID-19 (Gangl and Ziefle 2015; Reichelt, Makovi, and Sargsyan 2021). In these ways, gender roles in Germany may be more rigid than gender roles in the US. On the other hand, the annual Global Gender Gap Report ranks Germany higher in gender quality than the US (Germany is number 10 while the US is number 53) (World

Economic Forum 2020). The World Economic Forum explains that Germany's high ranking is largely due to its political gender equality and that the US's poor ranking is a result of progress towards gender parity stalling (see also: Scott and Braun 2009). The large wage gap and the lack of women in the top business positions also contribute to the US ranking. Thus, it is unclear which country "wins out" in terms of gender equality; they both have strengths and weaknesses.

Immigration

Germany and the US are both home to extremely large numbers of immigrants; nearly 45 million immigrants reside in the US, which is equivalent to about 14% of the US population, and around 13 million immigrants live in Germany, about 20% of the population (Batalova, Hanna, and Levesque 2021; United Nations 2019). They both receive high influxes of immigrants each year as the top two migrant-receiving countries in the world (United Nations 2019), and as such, the migrant stock in both countries has increased considerably over the time period of the current study (Budiman 2020; Statista 2021). While both are popular immigrant destinations, the demographic characteristics of immigrants to the US and Germany are quite distinct. The composition of US/Germany migrants have varied over the years, but immigrants to Germany are most commonly white Europeans, coming from Eastern European countries like Turkey, Poland, and Romania (Destatis 2019), while immigrants to the US are more diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, and are dominantly Hispanic and Asian, primarily from Mexico, China, India, and the Philippines (Pew 2020). Additionally, women make up a slight majority (around 51%) of the foreign population in both Germany and the US (OECD 2021b).

Though immigrants to the US and Germany may be demographically distinct, they often take similar occupational roles in both countries. Immigrants generally struggle to completely integrate into the labor market, and are less likely to be employed and more likely to take lower

status positions than native-born residents in both Germany and the US, even after controlling for education (Eckstein and Peri 2018; Heilbrunn, Kushnirovich, and Zeltzer-Zubida 2010; Kogan 2011; Winkler 2019). Occupational fields with particularly large shares of immigrants—particularly Hispanic migrants in the US and African and Turkish migrants in Germany—include agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and unskilled jobs (Eckstein and Peri 2018; Kogan 2011), though Chinese and Indian migrants in the US are most often employed in high-skilled occupations like computer programming and managerial work (Eckstein and Peri 2018). Influxes of highly educated immigrants to Germany over the past few years contributed to higher occupational attainment among recently arrived cohorts, but occupational status tends to decrease as cohorts are tracked across time, probably due to outmigration of the most skilled migrants (Sprengholz et al. 2021). This suggests that the long-term “stayers” in Germany may have lower occupational statuses than those who leave after a few years (Sprengholz et al. 2021).

Work-Family and Gender Equality Policies

Germany.

Within the last 15 years, Germany has instituted three policies expected to greatly reduce gender gaps in employment outcomes. First, in 2007, Germany updated their parental leave policy to include a paternity quota or “daddy quota,” which reserves two months of non-transferable leave for fathers after a child is born. The 2007 policy also specified that parents should receive earnings-related parental leave benefits rather than the mean-tested flat rate benefits that parents received before, meaning that those taking leave would now receive income-dependent payments. In this case, parents would receive 67% of their average earnings—from the year before the child was born—for the months they took off from work (OECD 2020a). All benefits would reset with the birth of each new child (OECD 2020a). Shortly after

the policy changes, Germany saw a marked rise in the percentages of fathers who took the leave, indicating that father's quotas may be more effective than the gender-neutral leave policies of the decades before (Giesler and Krayenfeld 2012). The 2007 policy also decreased the duration of mothers' time out of the workforce and increased their overall employment rates and working hours (Spiess and Wrohlich 2008; Ziefle and Gangl 2014).

Second, Germany implemented a reform in 2013 that gave all children ages one through three a right to childcare (SPLASH 2014). This essentially means that affordable or free childcare must be available to every parent in Germany; if the government does not provide childcare, parents have the right to sue (SPLASH 2014). Public childcare in Germany is provided by non-profit organizations, churches, and city governments—and family daycare centers are typically state-subsidized (SPLASH 2014). While Germany's childcare system has always been one of the most affordable of the OECD countries (Immervoll and Barber 2006), the 2013 policy, in theory, prevents any parents who may have previously lacked access to free or affordable care from having to go without it.

Finally, in 2015, Germany introduced an Act that requires companies to ensure that at least 30% of their 50/50 co-determined supervisory boards (i.e. boards where half of the members are employees) are women (Binder and Zeppenfeld 2015). If the 30% quota is not met in board elections, the election will be deemed void, and empty seats will remain until the next election (Binder and Zeppenfeld 2015). Additionally, for a larger group of German companies, the Act requires that they set their own goals for gender composition of the supervisory and managing boards and other leadership positions (Binder and Zeppenfeld 2015). The only requirements for company-determined goals are that target proportions for women's participation must not fall below the status quo if less than 30% of current leaders and board members are

women, or that women's participation must not be less than 30% if the status quo is above 30% (Binder and Zeppenfeld 2015). Targets (and whether or not targets were met) must be published in management reports to keep companies accountable (Binder and Zeppenfeld 2015).

United States.

While Germany has implemented far-reaching and evidence-supported work-family policies, the US has not, or at least not to the same extent. As a result, federal-level policies aimed at helping working mothers (and fathers) have not changed much since the early 90s. Prior to 2020, the US had only instituted one federal leave policy: The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). This law, passed in 1993, offers eligible employees 12 weeks of *unpaid* leave after the birth of a child (Family and Medical Leave Act 1993). The policy is limited because 1) it doesn't provide compensation for those who take the leave and 2) it is not universally applicable; only slightly over half of the employees in the US meet the qualifications to receive this benefit (Abt Associates 2012). Additionally, many eligible individuals choose not to take leave, or to return early, because they cannot afford to take extensive unpaid time off (Abt Associates 2012).

Despite not having a widespread, paid parental leave policy, US states have the freedom to implement their own paid leave policies. However, as of 2016, the last year included in this study, only three states (California, New Jersey, and Rhode Island) had such laws in place (Brainerd 2017). Private businesses in any state can also offer paid leave benefits if they choose to, but in 2017, only 16% of employees had access to paid benefits, and most of these employees were in higher status positions (Donovan 2019; Isaacs, Healy, and Peters 2017).

Childcare in the US is primarily privately run and tends to be very expensive for children under 3 (OECD 2016). Children older than three can attend preschool, but it is not always affordable or is only offered for half of the day (NCES 2020). When children reach age five in

the US, they are old enough to begin kindergarten, which is federally funded, but in many states, kindergartens, like most preschools, are only held for half of the day (NCES 2020).

Within the last couple years, there have been more rapid policy changes in the US at both the state and federal level. Three new states, New York, Washington, and Massachusetts, as well as Washington D.C., have enacted paid family leave policies that became effective as of 2020 (Bipartisan 2019). The entitlements offered by each state include gender-neutral parental leave with length ranging from four weeks to 12 weeks and benefits ranging from 55% of income to 90% (Bipartisan 2019). In addition to state-level policies, the Federal Employee Paid Leave Act (FEPLA) was signed into law in December of 2019 (Federal Employee Paid Leave Act 2019-2020). The law gives federal employees up to 12 weeks of paid time off after the birth or adoption of a new child and went into effect in October of 2020 (Federal Employee Paid Leave Act 2019-2020). Another bill introduced in December of 2019 allows working parents to collect a portion of their child-tax early to support them if they decide to take time off (Advancing Support for Working Families Act 2019-2020). Even more recently, President Biden announced his American Families Plan which, if implemented, would drastically reform the current work-family system (The White House 2021). It would provide support to low and middle income families by providing improved access to quality childcare, offer a comprehensive family and medical leave program, and extend tax credits for low and middle income families (The White House 2021). These more recent policy developments in the US, while noteworthy, are not applicable to this study since my analysis ends in 2016. Future research should continue monitoring women's employment outcomes in the aftermath of these policy changes.

METHODS

Data

This study uses both individual and household-level data from the cross-national and repeated cross-sectional Luxembourg Income Study (LIS)—years 2000, 2004, 2010, and 2016—to analyze how gendered occupational segregation among parents has changed over time in Germany and the United States and how these patterns may differ for immigrants and native-born residents. The LIS database includes data related to income, wealth, employment, and demographic information for 53 industrialized countries. There have been over eleven waves of data collection spanning the years 1980-2018, though data from every country were not collected every year. The LIS staff collects the data, renders it comparable between countries, and makes it accessible to researchers worldwide. Scholars can access the data using the data center’s remote statistical interface.

Although sample size varies between countries and years, LIS data is robust and representative at the national level. For this analysis, sample sizes were restricted to the primary adults in each household, that is, the head of household or the spouse or cohabitating partner of the head of household, by age; respondents younger than 15 and older than 64 were excluded from the study. The adult age restrictions are in line with working-age guidelines defined by the OECD (OECD 2020b) and ensure that primarily working-age adults are captured in the analysis. Finally, the sample is limited to parents with their own children (ages 0-20) living in their home, since this research focuses on questions related to the motherhood penalty and work-family policies. With these restrictions applied, the sample sizes (of individuals) applied in the quantitative analysis for each year are for Germany, 6,148 (2000); 5,398 (2004); 9,686 (2010); and 7,483 (2016), and for the US, 54,463 (2000); 50,496 (2004); 45,214 (2010); and 39,964 (2016). Each observation provides full data for all explanatory variables included in the models.

Measures

The primary dependent variable in the models is an occupational status measure. The variable comes from a question asking respondents to identify the classification of their first (or primary) job, and responses were re-coded by the LIS team according to ISCO-88 or ISCO-08 standards (ISCO 2007). The ISCO-88 and ISCO-08 categorize occupational information based on the skill-level and skill-specialization required for the job. The occupational groupings created by ISCO systems are strongly correlated with occupational status, income, and job quality. The occupation variable used in my models is collapsed from a more specific ten-category occupation variable into a broader three-category variable where 1 = managers/professionals (CEOs, scientists, doctors, lawyers, etc.), 2 = other skilled workers (technicians, associate professionals, clerical support workers, sales workers, crafts and trades, etc.), and 3 = laborer/elementary (cleaners, agriculture, mining, food preparation, refuse workers, etc.). A secondary dependent variable, used in solely in initial cross-tabulations, is respondent employment status. While I focus my analysis on women who *are* employed, I included basic cross-tabs of employment in my analysis to provide greater context about gender gaps in the labor market in these two countries. Understanding the overall picture of who is working and who is not allows for clearer interpretation of the primary goal of the paper, understanding who is working in what occupational categories. The employment variable is dichotomous: 1=employed and 0=unemployed. This variable was re-coded by the LIS team from a “labor force status” variable that identifies respondents’ self-assessed employment status. The variable originally distinguished between those who are employed, unemployed, and not in the labor force, but the transformed indicator variable collapses the unemployed and not in the labor force categories.

The primary independent variables in this analysis are the sex and immigrant variables. Respondent sex is a dichotomous indicator variable re-coded as 1 = male and 0 = female. Respondent immigrant status is also a dichotomous indicator, where 1 = immigrant and 0 = non-immigrant. Respondents are flagged as immigrants if 1) the data provider defined them as immigrant, 2) they self-define as immigrants, 3) they are citizens of another country, or 4) they were born in another country.

The control variables include indicators measuring family structure, socioeconomic status, self-reported health, age, and characteristics of residence. The family structure variables are (1) marital status (1=married, 2=never married, and 3=divorced/separated/widowed) where “married” serves as the reference group and (2) children under four (1=has own children under age four living in house, 0=has own children age four to age 20 living in house). Socioeconomic status is measured by level of education (eight categories ranging from “less than primary” to “doctorate or equivalent”, used in the model as a continuous variable), and household income (total income/1000). Other control variables include age, disabled (1=disabled, 0=not disabled), self-reported health (1=good health, 0=poor health), rurality (1=rural, 0=non-rural) and region (for Germany: 1=East Germany, 0=West Germany; for the US: 1=Midwest, 2=South, 3=West, 0=Northeast). In all models, the standardized versions of age and education are used to ensure that VIF scores remain low. It is anticipated that marital status, young children, education, income, disability, and age will all have strong relationships with occupational status. Less apparent is whether health, rurality, and region are related to occupational status.

Analytic strategy

To gain a clearer picture of overall employment rates for fathers and mothers at each time point, I ran cross-tabulations of the sex and employment variables at each time point. I also

examined occupational status descriptively for fathers and mothers in both countries. Then, I used multinomial logistic regression at each time point in each country to predict the likelihood of fathers' and immigrants' employment in skilled and unskilled occupations *over* professional occupations, compared to mothers and non-immigrants. These models include all control variables mentioned in the previous paragraph.

After running the base models for each time point, I ran each model again, this time including an interaction between sex and immigrant status. In accordance with *American Sociological Review (ASR)* guidelines, I did not consider the statistical significance of the coefficient in the models; rather, I ascertained the marginal effects of the interaction and ran a Wald test to determine the equality of the effects (Mize 2019; Mustillo, Lizardo, McVeigh 2018). Finally, I plotted the predicted values to allow for easier comparisons between each demographic group in question: immigrant women, native-born women, immigrant men, and native-born men.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Figures I and II show the descriptive employment rates for mothers and fathers in Germany and the US over the period of the study. Rates for mothers and fathers in both Germany and the US are relatively stable over time. Mothers' rates hover around 70% in the US and 60% to 65% in Germany. Fathers' employment rates in both countries are close to 90% at all time points except for 2016, when Germany's fathers experienced a drastic drop in employment; the employment rate decreased from around 90% to around 80%. The drop in fathers' employment did shrink the gender employment gap among parents in Germany, but counter to what German

policy-makers likely hoped for, it was fathers' falling employment rates that shrunk the gender disparity, rather than mothers' increasing employment rates.

[Figures I and II about here]

Figures I and II show *what* gendered labor participation in Germany and the US looks like—in terms of raw employment rates—but they do not say much about *how* mothers and fathers participate in the labor market. The question of *how* parents' experiences in paid employment differ can be explained in part by examining occupational status. Whether the likelihood of attaining a certain occupational status changes over time depending on gender, immigrant status, or country context is the primary subject of this paper. As such, the rest of the analysis in this section focuses on changes in *occupation* over time, rather than changes in *employment* over time. In other words, the bulk of this paper centers on the occupational probabilities of mothers and fathers who *are* employed and will not focus on the 30-40% of mothers and 10-20% of fathers in each country who *are not* employed.

Table I shows that in Germany, the percentage of mothers employed in skilled labor has steadily decreased from 2000-2016 as higher percentages of mothers move into both professional and laborer categories. Therefore, these descriptive statistics suggest that mothers in Germany are moving out of skilled labor in polar directions—into higher paying, more prestigious positions, and into lower paying, menial positions. Fathers in Germany also move out of skilled work positions into professional positions from 2000 to 2004, but movement largely subsides in the following two measurement times. In the US, the proportion of fathers and mothers in each occupational group have remained stable and relatively gender equal. The proportion of mothers in labor/elementary and skilled positions decreased slightly from 2000 to 2016, while the proportion of mothers in professional/managerial jobs increased. The percentage of fathers in

labor occupations increased slightly, but there was little variation in the proportion of fathers in professional or skilled positions. The changes in the US appear to be much more subtle than changes in Germany.

[Table I about here]

Main Effects

To determine whether the likelihood of mothers' employment in skilled labor or unskilled labor over professional labor was significantly higher than fathers' likelihoods, I ran multinomial logistic regression models to parse out these relationships. The regression models for Germany (Table II) show that the odds of fathers participating in skilled or unskilled labor over professional labor is much lower than the odds of mothers working in these occupations (average RR for skilled over time = .563, average RR for unskilled = .290). In the US (Table III), the situation is much different. The odds of fathers participating in skilled and unskilled labor over professional work is *higher* than the odds of mothers at all time points, though the relationship is not significant for unskilled work in 2000 (average RR for skilled over time = 1.124, average RR for unskilled = 1.458).

[Tables II and III about here]

Immigrant status, the other primary variable of interest in this study, also proved to be a strong predictor of occupational status at all time points. In Germany, the odds of immigrants participating in skilled/unskilled work over professional work is much higher than non-immigrants, and this finding remains significant for each measurement period (average RR for skilled = 2.099, average RR for unskilled = 4.718). The risk ratios in Germany are especially high for unskilled work; the odds of immigrant employment in labor/elementary work over professional work is, on average, 372% higher than the odds for non-immigrants. In the US, the

story is largely the same. Immigrants are much more likely than non-immigrants to be in skilled and unskilled positions than they are to be in professional positions. Here too, the risk ratios are stronger for unskilled work; the odds of immigrants participating in unskilled work over professional work are, on average, 148% higher than the odds for non-immigrants.

As hypothesized, several control variables including marital status, years of education, income, and age are significant predictors of occupational status at most time points in both countries. However, in the US, the occupational odds of being in skilled/unskilled jobs over professional jobs is consistently significant for *never married* respondents, while in Germany the more consistent significant predictor of lower occupational status is being *previously married*. Having a previous marriage in Germany also predicted *lower* odds of being in skilled/unskilled jobs while never being married in the US predicted *higher* odds of being in lower status jobs. Having children under four living in the household has a more consistently significant (and negative) relationship with skilled/unskilled occupations in Germany than it does in the US, which is surprising given Germany's more affordable and accessible childcare options for children under four (Immervoll and Barber 2006). Rural residents also have significantly greater odds of employment in skilled/unskilled jobs over professional jobs in both countries, though rurality becomes more significant over time in Germany and less significant in the United States. In the US, having a disability correlated with higher odds of working in skilled/unskilled jobs in 2000 and 2004, but the relationship is largely not significant in the following two years. Disabled individuals in Germany have higher odds of being employed in unskilled positions, but only in 2010 and 2016. Other variables that are sporadically and/or only marginally significant in both countries are region and health.

The Influence of Gender and Immigrant Status

Both gender and immigrant status mattered for predicting the odds associated with occupation but understanding how they play together requires analyzing their interaction. Simply including an interaction term in logistic regression models without further analysis is not especially useful, because the risk ratios, standard errors, and p-values for interaction terms in non-linear models are not calculated correctly by most software (Ai and Norton 2003; Mize 2019). Mize (2019) suggests that a better approach to understanding interactions requires the use of marginal effects and tests of second differences. Tables IV and V display the marginal effects, confidence intervals, and outcomes of a post-estimation Wald test for the male-immigrant interaction. The predicted probabilities from this analysis are displayed graphically in Figures III-VI.

[Tables IV and V about here]

In Germany, there is clearly convergence in gender and immigrant gaps over time in professional/managerial jobs (Figure III). Predictably, German-born fathers are the most likely group to be employed in professional/managerial jobs across time, and immigrant mothers are the least likely group to be employed in these jobs. However, the gap between these groups (and by default, gaps between these groups and immigrant fathers/German-born mothers) shrinks considerably over time, with the most drastic changes occurring in 2010, the first measured time point after the parental leave policy changes in 2007. The probability gap remains small in 2016, the time point after the childcare policy changes in 2013 and leadership policy changes in 2015. Additionally, the gap between immigrant women and German-born women in professional jobs—significant in 2000—nearly disappears, and loses significance, in 2016. This shrinking gap, and rapid increases in immigrant women’s professional predicted probabilities, may be due to recent influxes of educated immigrants from Eastern Europe (Sprengholz et al. 2021).

[Figure III about here]

Figure IV demonstrates that although more immigrant mothers are participating in higher status professions in Germany, they are also disproportionately represented in labor/elementary occupations. At all time points, the predicted probability of immigrant mothers employed in labor/elementary work was over 10% higher than any other group. Unlike the shrinking gender and immigrant gaps apparent in managerial/professional positions, in Germany, gaps in labor/elementary occupations remain large over time.

[Figure IV about here]

Graphs for the US tell a different story (Figure V). First, almost all demographic groups in the US have higher probabilities of working in managerial/professional jobs than any of the demographic groups in Germany. In fact, German-born fathers, the highest achieving group in Germany, have around the same probability as immigrant mothers in the United States, the lowest-achieving group in the US, of being employed in the top jobs (~30% chance). Second, the gaps between the various demographic groups are also much smaller at all time points than gaps in Germany. Third, unlike the convergence observed in professional employment probabilities in Germany, Figure V shows that predicted probabilities for all groups stay relatively stable over time in the US. Finally, and most unpredictably, US-born fathers are *less likely* than US-born mothers to be employed in professional/managerial jobs at all time points.

[Figure V about here]

Figure VI shows that immigrant mothers in the US, like immigrant mothers in Germany, are the most likely group to be in labor/elementary jobs. However, the difference between their probability of being in unskilled work and the probabilities of other demographic groups is much smaller than the difference in Germany. Here, the differing probabilities seem to have more to do

with immigrant status more generally than they do with the combination of immigrant status and gender.

[Figure VI about here]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Using LIS data, I investigate gendered occupational segregation among parents in Germany and the US from 2000 to 2016. I find that across time and in both countries, immigrant mothers are the least likely to be in the highest status jobs and most likely to be in the lowest status jobs. However, the trajectories and magnitude of gaps in predicted occupational status between mother and fathers differs quite drastically between Germany and the US. In terms of the highest status jobs, all mothers in Germany become increasingly likely to be employed in professional or managerial roles, though immigrant mothers experience a more dramatic increase over time and thus “catch up” to German-born mothers by 2016. Put otherwise, the gap between mothers’ and fathers’ probability of employment in professional work shrinks considerably over time, and the gap between immigrant mothers and German-born mothers becomes non-significant in 2016. In the US, changes in professional predicted probabilities are much less extreme, but gender/immigrant gaps are initially much smaller in the US than gaps in Germany. Employment in the lowest status jobs is most common for immigrant mothers in both countries, but in Germany, immigrant mothers are more likely to be in lower status jobs than immigrant mothers in the US. Additionally, the difference between immigrant mothers’ probabilities of low-status employment and that of all other groups in Germany was larger than the difference between these groups in the US. Given these findings, I argue that despite improvements in mother’s occupational achievement in Germany, mothers in Germany, and particularly immigrant mothers, still face substantial barriers in achieving occupational parity with fathers.

My results are consistent with research indicating that gender occupational segregation is still a mechanism of social stratification (Born, Ranehill, and Sandberg 2018; Blau, Brummund, and Yung-Hsu Liu 2013; Cohen 2013; Pettit and Hook 2009). This holds true in both the German and American contexts, though gender seems to matter more for immigrants than native-born individuals in both countries. The additional disadvantages that immigrant women face in occupational status is consistent with literature suggesting that immigrant women experience more barriers professionally due to their overlapping marginalized identities (Barglowski and Pustulka 2018; Gomberg-Munoz 2017; Hagan 1998; Villares-Varela 2018). In addition to their consistent disadvantages when compared with other groups, this study also shows that immigrant women's occupational outcomes in Germany became more polarized over time; they increasingly moved out of middle-tier jobs into the highest-status and lowest status jobs.

It is possible that increases in immigrant mothers' (and German-born mothers') participation in high-status jobs in Germany is related to daddy quota and public childcare policies since the literature suggests that these specific types of policies are effective in reducing gender inequality (Dunatchik and Ozcan 2019; Kotsadam and Finseraas 2011; Patnaik 2019; Pettit and Hook 2009; Raub et al. 2018). However, immigrant mothers' high and stagnant participation in the lowest status jobs in Germany complicates that picture. The bifurcation observed indicates that while policies or changing social norms may help some mothers to advance in their careers, they may push other, more vulnerable mothers into lower prestige work. Indeed, these policies may allow more women to participate in the workforce, but an unanticipated side effect is that they may also contribute to more women taking lower-level positions, a finding that other research on work-family policies confirms (Blau, Ferber, and Winkler 2010; Blau and Kahn 2013). The current study shows support for both perspectives—

first, that living in countries with work-family policies improves women's occupational outcomes, and second, that living in countries with such policies hurts women's occupational outcomes. Though seemingly opposing points of view, this research shows a way in which they could both be true: through greater polarization of women's occupational outcomes, into higher-*and* lower-level jobs.

This study also supports research finding that occupational segregation is less severe in the US than it is in Germany (Blau and Kahn 2013). Gender gaps in both high and low-status jobs are larger in Germany (greater difference in probabilities of employment in each status sector), indicating that Germany may have further to go to achieve gender occupational integration than the US does. This is surprising given Germany's consistently high rankings in the annual Global Gender Gap Report published by the World Economic Forum (World Economic Forum n.d.). The findings of my paper indicate that at least in terms of gender and occupational status, Germany may not be as close to gender parity as their ranking may suggest. However, this study also finds that the trajectory for mothers' likelihood of being in high-level position is improving in Germany, while the trajectory for women in the US is stagnant, indicating that if the pattern continues, Germany may soon catch up to the US.

As is the case with all research, this study is limited in a few ways. First, limitations with available data prevented me from including a variable to account for exogenous shocks, like the Great Recession during 2007-2009. In quasi- or natural experiments, accounting for these kinds of shocks is important and not being able to do so detracted from the ability of my study to produce causal findings. Because I do not claim that the research is an experiment, and is instead largely exploratory, my discussion of potentially confounding variables, like the recession, in the literature review is sufficient, but future research should include exogenous shock variables in

statistical models to better account for their effects. Another limitation is the limited time frame of the study. Potential changes in occupational outcomes in Germany due to policy will likely play out in the long term rather than the short term, since mothers who may have opted out of the workforce in the time points of this study may only see the gains in their career trajectories unfold over time. Researchers should continue to monitor occupational status in Germany (and the US) to determine longer term effects. Continuing to examine the occupational statuses of parents who utilize their benefits, compared to those that do not, will also be crucial to understanding the effects of the policies themselves, rather than the more ambiguous country-context factors cited in this study. In terms of immigrant women's outcomes, I could not identify *why* immigrant mothers were becoming increasingly likely to be in the highest and lowest status occupations. Research shows that immigrants do tend to have bifurcated skill-levels (high vs. low) which can contribute to overall income inequality in host countries (Xu, Garand, and Zhu 2016), but the literature does not explain why immigrant skill-bifurcation may be growing over time in countries like Germany. Future research should explore the causes of increasing occupational polarization among immigrants and consider the role of gender in these polarization patterns.

Despite its limitations, this study provides crucial information that is especially relevant now, in the wake of COVID-19. The pandemic exacerbated disparities in gendered employment outcomes, with mothers taking the hardest hits (Alon et al. 2020). Understanding how the recent pandemic—as well as future disasters—may set women with children back in terms of occupational status will be an important long-term research focus. This study also points out that progressive work-family policies may not have the power to reverse gender inequality quickly, and they may not be enough on their own. Germany may have more federal-level policies in

place, but my study shows that simply living in a country with progressive work-family policies does not directly correlate with occupational equality, at least in the short term. Both Germany and the United States should consider other ways to promote more equitable distributions of occupational outcomes. Finally, there is a perception that immigrant *men* face exploitation in the workforce most often because they face the most pressure to be the breadwinners for their families. However, immigrant *women* fare worse than immigrant men in terms of occupational status in both countries. Governmental and non-governmental programs should direct specific efforts to assist immigrant women in the labor market rather than having programs that assist women only *or* immigrants only.

This study investigates questions of occupational segregation among immigrant and native-born parents in countries with vastly different work-family policy approaches. It illuminates the combined influence of gender and immigrant status on parents' occupational outcomes. I find that both gender and immigrant status matter for occupational position individually, and that together, they matter even more. Surprisingly, gaps in the predicted probability of occupational status are larger in Germany than in the US, particularly between migrant mothers and German-born fathers. Implementing progressive work-family and women-in-leadership policies then is not a foolproof way to eradicate gender inequality, particularly for the most vulnerable groups in society, at least not in the short term. Therefore, future research should continue to analyze women's occupational outcomes in Germany as time goes on, particularly among women that have utilized work-family benefits.

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Tables and Figures

Table I Percentage of Mothers and Fathers Working in Various Occupational Categories

| | | Germany | | US | |
|------|-----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Year | | Mothers | Fathers | Mothers | Fathers |
| 2000 | Manager/Professional | 16.16 | 24.56 | 34.86 | 34.71 |
| | Other Skilled Workers | 73.54 | 69.77 | 57.51 | 57.75 |
| | Laborer/Elementary | 10.30 | 5.67 | 7.63 | 7.53 |
| 2004 | Manager/Professional | 18.94 | 32.15 | 36.30 | 34.77 |
| | Other Skilled Workers | 71.73 | 63.10 | 58.32 | 58.92 |
| | Laborer/Elementary | 9.33 | 4.75 | 5.38 | 6.31 |
| 2010 | Manager/Professional | 21.27 | 31.47 | 35.32 | 33.20 |
| | Other Skilled Workers | 69.45 | 63.10 | 59.31 | 57.96 |
| | Laborer/Elementary | 9.28 | 5.43 | 5.37 | 8.84 |
| 2016 | Manager/Professional | 21.58 | 30.31 | 38.21 | 34.65 |
| | Other Skilled Workers | 66.65 | 62.74 | 55.99 | 56.20 |
| | Laborer/Elementary | 11.77 | 6.94 | 5.81 | 9.15 |

Table II Multinomial Logistic Regression of Occupational Status in Germany (Reference: Professional/Manager)

| | Model 1: 2000 | | Model 2: 2004 | | Model 3: 2010 | | Model 4: 2016 | |
|--|---------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| | Skilled labor | Elementary labor | Skilled labor | Elementary labor | Skilled labor | Elementary labor | Skilled labor | Elementary labor |
| Male | 0.605*** | 0.322*** | 0.450*** | 0.233*** | 0.606*** | 0.344*** | 0.592*** | 0.262*** |
| Immigrant | 3.059*** | 6.349*** | 2.591*** | 6.188*** | 1.411*** | 2.980*** | 1.334** | 3.354*** |
| Marital Status (reference: married) | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Never Married</i> | 0.806 | 0.802 | 0.723 | 0.551 | 0.770* | 0.464*** | 0.766* | 0.432*** |
| <i>Divorced/Separated/Widow</i> | 0.550*** | 0.397*** | 0.722* | 0.462** | 0.794* | 0.669** | 0.730** | 0.416*** |
| Children under 4 | 0.693** | 0.547** | 0.887 | 0.703 | 0.745*** | 0.730* | 0.804* | 0.680* |
| Years of education (z) | 0.232*** | 0.112*** | 0.203*** | 0.105*** | 0.213*** | 0.104*** | 0.173*** | 0.084*** |
| Age (z) | 0.666** | 1.105 | 0.952** | 2.119** | 0.798* | 1.551* | 1.026 | 2.029*** |
| East Germany (reference: West Germany) | 1.262* | 1.361 | 1.141 | 0.980 | 0.912 | 0.858 | 1.056 | 0.778 |
| Rural | 1.106 | 1.334* | 1.095* | 1.165 | 1.312*** | 1.637*** | 1.299*** | 1.455** |
| Household income | 0.989*** | 0.970*** | 0.986*** | 0.959*** | 0.991*** | 0.967*** | 0.989*** | 0.961*** |
| Disabled | 0.913 | 1.522 | 0.948 | 1.278 | 1.182 | 2.029** | 1.339 | 1.731* |
| Poor health | 0.805 | 0.633* | 1.052 | 1.306 | 0.935 | 1.067 | 1.083 | 1.431* |

N= (M1: 6,148; M2: 5,398; M3: 9,686; M4: 7,483)

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table III Multinomial Logistic Regression of Occupational Status in US (Reference: Professional/Manager)

| | Model 1: 2000 | | Model 2: 2004 | | Model 3: 2010 | | Model 4: 2016 | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| | Skilled labor | Elementary labor | Skilled labor | Elementary labor | Skilled labor | Elementary labor | Skilled labor | Elementary labor |
| Male | 1.159*** | 1.070 | 1.150*** | 1.257*** | 1.100*** | 1.833*** | 1.088** | 1.670*** |
| Immigrant | 1.298*** | 2.245*** | 1.265*** | 2.153*** | 1.356*** | 2.788*** | 1.236*** | 2.605*** |
| Marital Status (reference: married) | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Never Married</i> | 1.274*** | 1.360*** | 1.314*** | 1.424*** | 1.307*** | 1.689*** | 1.340*** | 1.653*** |
| <i>Divorced/Separated/Widow</i> | 1.015 | 0.891 | 1.002 | 0.854* | 1.000 | 1.039 | 1.041 | 1.163* |
| Children under 4 | 0.987 | 1.056 | 0.937* | 0.930 | 0.903** | 0.921 | 0.993 | 0.925 |
| Years of education (z) | 0.265*** | 0.174*** | 0.269*** | 0.186*** | 0.224*** | 0.137*** | 0.243*** | 0.147*** |
| Age (z) | 0.884*** | 1.158** | 0.831*** | 1.134* | 0.809*** | 0.971 | 0.843*** | 0.962 |
| Regions (reference: Northeast) | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Midwest</i> | 1.012 | 1.091 | 1.078* | 1.063 | 1.053 | 1.078 | 0.953 | 0.917 |
| <i>South</i> | 0.936* | 0.893* | 0.986 | 0.951 | 1.015 | 0.943 | 0.962 | 0.966 |
| <i>West</i> | 0.945 | 1.126* | 0.997 | 0.971 | 1.008 | 0.899 | 0.942 | 0.950 |
| Rural | 1.089*** | 1.281*** | 1.137*** | 1.155** | 1.032 | 1.097 | 1.084** | 1.056 |
| Household income | 0.996*** | 0.985*** | 0.996*** | 0.983*** | 0.996*** | 0.988*** | 0.997*** | 0.992*** |
| Disabled | 1.485*** | 1.778*** | 1.316** | 1.890*** | 1.071 | 1.255 | 1.212* | 1.190 |
| Poor health | 1.139 | 1.199 | 1.176 | 1.178 | 1.356 | 1.741* | 1.164 | 1.696* |

N=(M1: 54,463; M2: 50,496; M3: 45,214; M4: 39, 964)

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table IV Predicted Probabilities of Employment in Managerial/Professional Occupations by Gender and Immigrant Status in the US and Germany

| US Marginal Effects: Managers/Professionals | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | 2000 | | 2004 | | 2010 | | 2016 | |
| | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval |
| Immigrant Mothers | 0.293 | 0.279-0.307 | 0.303 | 0.289-0.317 | 0.296 | 0.284-0.309 | 0.318 | 0.304-0.331 |
| US-Born Mothers | 0.368 | 0.363-0.374 | 0.371 | 0.371-0.383 | 0.362 | 0.357-0.368 | 0.385 | 0.379-0.391 |
| Immigrant Fathers | 0.311 | 0.297-0.324 | 0.327 | 0.313-0.340 | 0.297 | 0.284-0.309 | 0.336 | 0.323-0.349 |
| US-Born Fathers | 0.339 | 0.334-0.345 | 0.345 | 0.340-0.351 | 0.339 | 0.333-0.345 | 0.358 | 0.352-0.365 |
| Wald Test | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Chi-square stat</i> | 19.98 | | 115.56 | | 133.78 | | 152.18 | |
| <i>P-value</i> | 0.0000 | | 0.0000 | | 0.0000 | | 0.0000 | |
| Germany Marginal Effects: Managers/Professionals | | | | | | | | |
| | 2000 | | 2004 | | 2010 | | 2016 | |
| | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval |
| Immigrant Mothers | 0.085 | 0.058-0.113 | 0.115 | 0.082-0.148 | 0.198 | 0.172-0.225 | 0.214 | 0.194-0.234 |
| DE-Born Mothers | 0.190 | 0.176-0.203 | 0.223 | 0.209-0.237 | 0.239 | 0.228-0.249 | 0.238 | 0.227-0.249 |
| Immigrant Fathers | 0.141 | 0.114-0.168 | 0.218 | 0.185-0.251 | 0.255 | 0.229-0.281 | 0.255 | 0.233-0.277 |
| DE-Born Fathers | 0.244 | 0.232-0.257 | 0.310 | 0.296-0.324 | 0.301 | 0.290-0.312 | 0.305 | 0.292-0.317 |
| Wald Test | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Chi-square stat</i> | 9.65 | | 19.43 | | 10.90 | | 11.79 | |
| <i>P-value</i> | 0.0080 | | 0.0001 | | 0.0043 | | 0.0027 | |

Table V Predicted Probabilities of Employment in Labor/Elementary Occupations by Gender and Immigrant Status in the US and Germany

| US Marginal Effects: Laborer/Elementary | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | 2000 | | 2004 | | 2010 | | 2016 | |
| | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval |
| Immigrant Mothers | 0.122 | 0.112-0.132 | 0.106 | 0.097-0.116 | 0.115 | 0.106-0.125 | 0.125 | 0.115-0.134 |
| US-Born Mothers | 0.068 | 0.064-0.071 | 0.043 | 0.040-0.045 | 0.036 | 0.033-0.039 | 0.037 | 0.034-0.041 |
| Immigrant Fathers | 0.105 | 0.097-0.114 | 0.070 | 0.063-0.077 | 0.110 | 0.102-0.119 | 0.110 | 0.102-0.118 |
| US-Born Fathers | 0.067 | 0.064-0.071 | 0.060 | 0.057-0.063 | 0.080 | 0.075-0.084 | 0.081 | 0.076-0.085 |
| Wald Test | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Chi-square stat</i> | 19.98 | | 115.51 | | 152.14 | | 153.56 | |
| <i>P-value</i> | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| Germany Marginal Effects: Laborer/Elementary | | | | | | | | |
| | 2000 | | 2004 | | 2010 | | 2016 | |
| | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval | Predicted Value | Conf. Interval |
| Immigrant Mothers | 0.191 | 0.154-0.228 | 0.190 | 0.153-0.227 | 0.170 | 0.143-0.196 | 0.190 | 0.169-0.211 |
| DE Mothers | 0.079 | 0.068-0.091 | 0.065 | 0.055-0.076 | 0.075 | 0.067-0.082 | 0.082 | 0.073-0.091 |
| Immigrant Fathers | 0.079 | 0.060-0.098 | 0.061 | 0.043-0.080 | 0.074 | 0.058-0.090 | 0.082 | 0.068-0.096 |
| DE Fathers | 0.053 | 0.044-0.062 | 0.047 | 0.038-0.056 | 0.051 | 0.044-0.058 | 0.049 | 0.041-0.058 |
| Wald Test | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Chi-square stat</i> | 9.65 | | 19.43 | | 10.90 | | 11.79 | |
| <i>P-value</i> | 0.0080 | | 0.0001 | | 0.0043 | | 0.0027 | |

Fig I Employment Rates for Mothers and Fathers in the US from 2000 to 2016

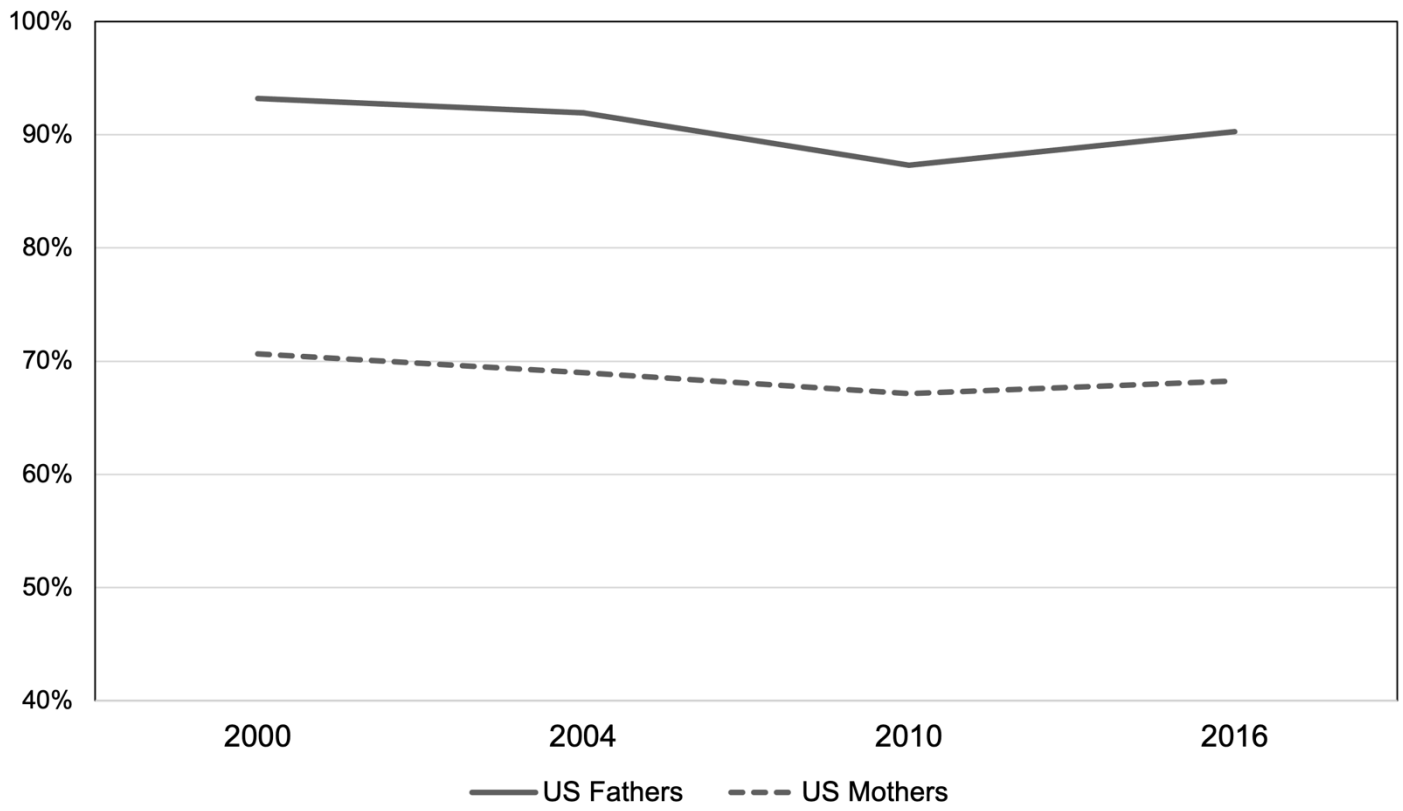


Fig II Employment Rates for Mothers and Fathers in Germany from 2000 to 2016

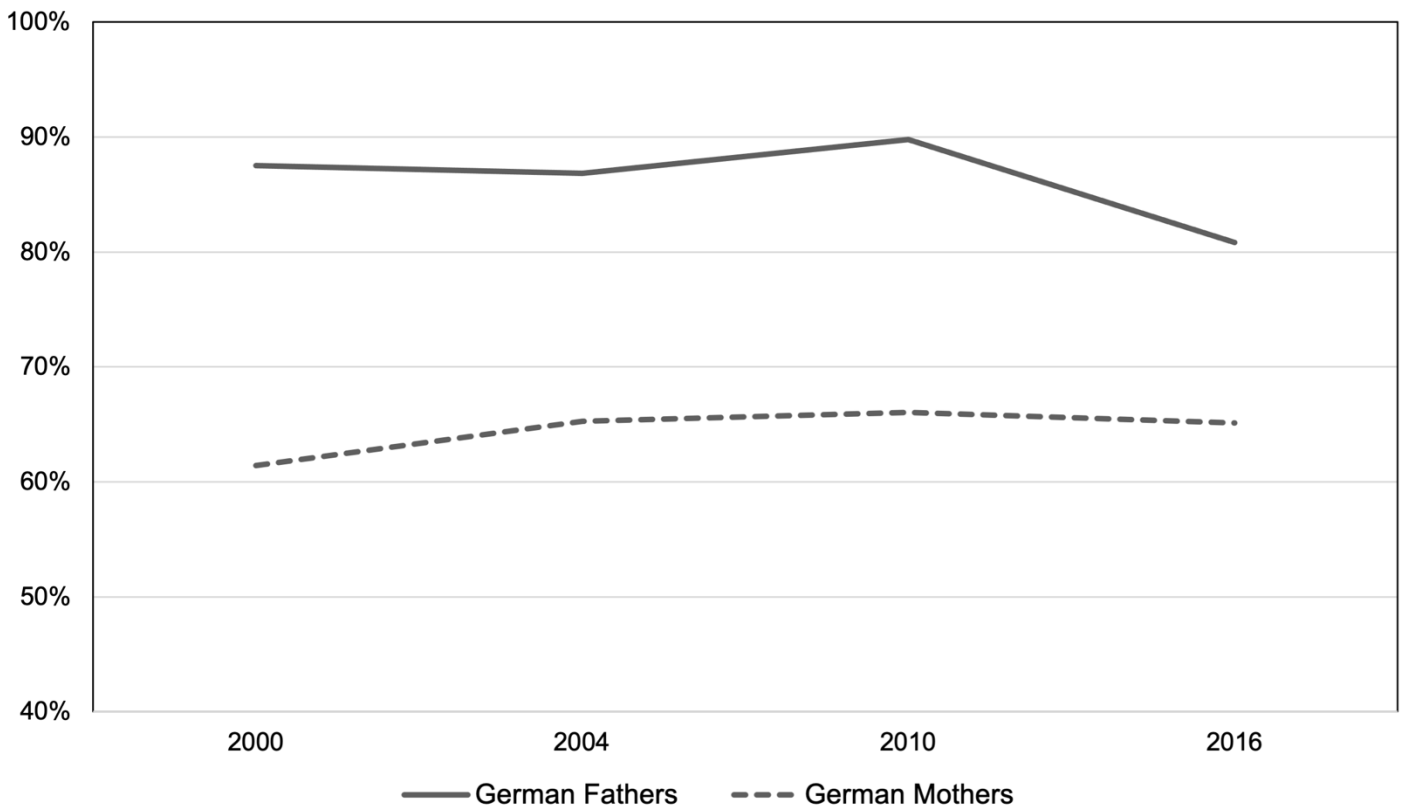


Fig III Predicted Probability of Employment in Professional/Managerial Occupations (Germany)

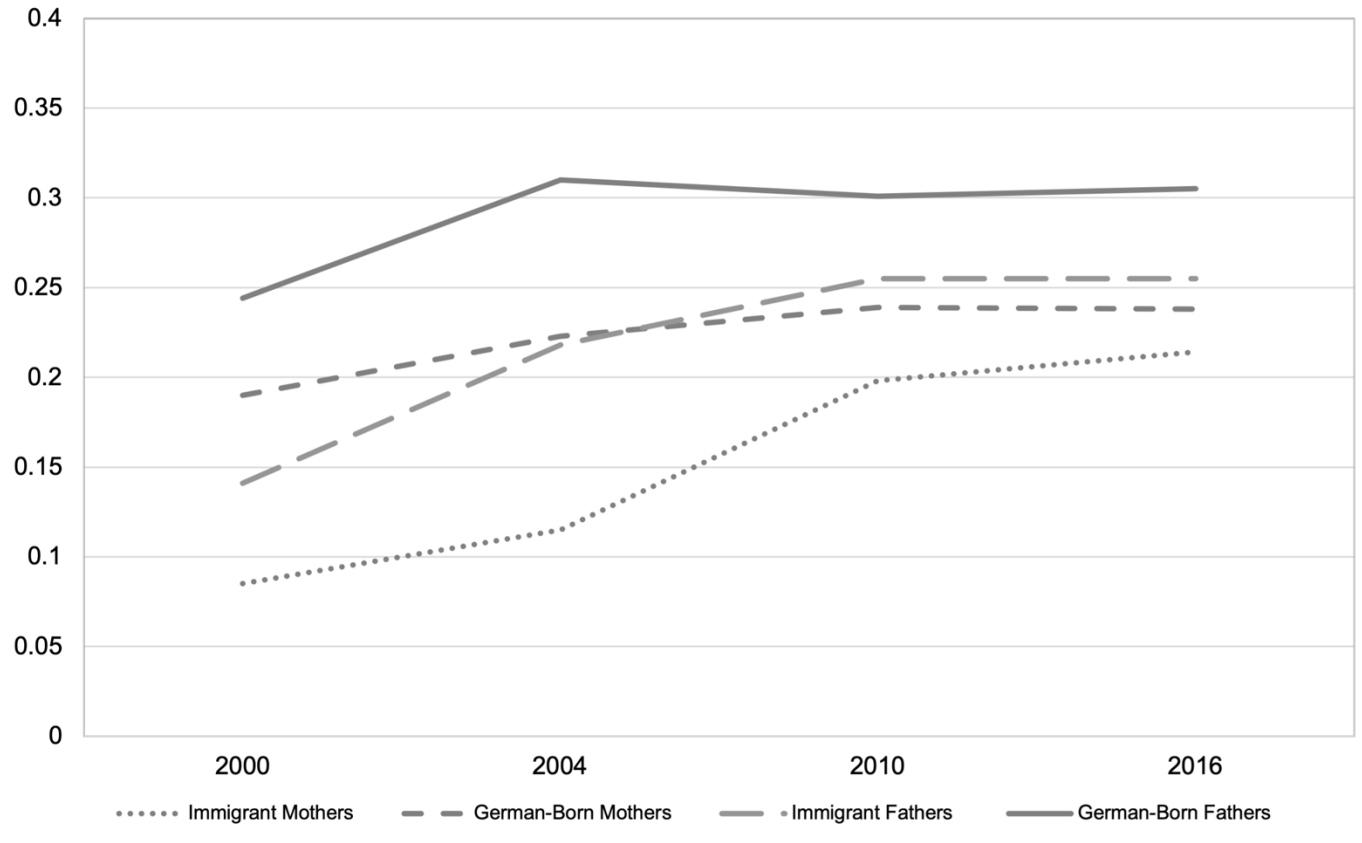


Fig IV Predicted Probability of Employment in Labor/Elementary Occupations (Germany)

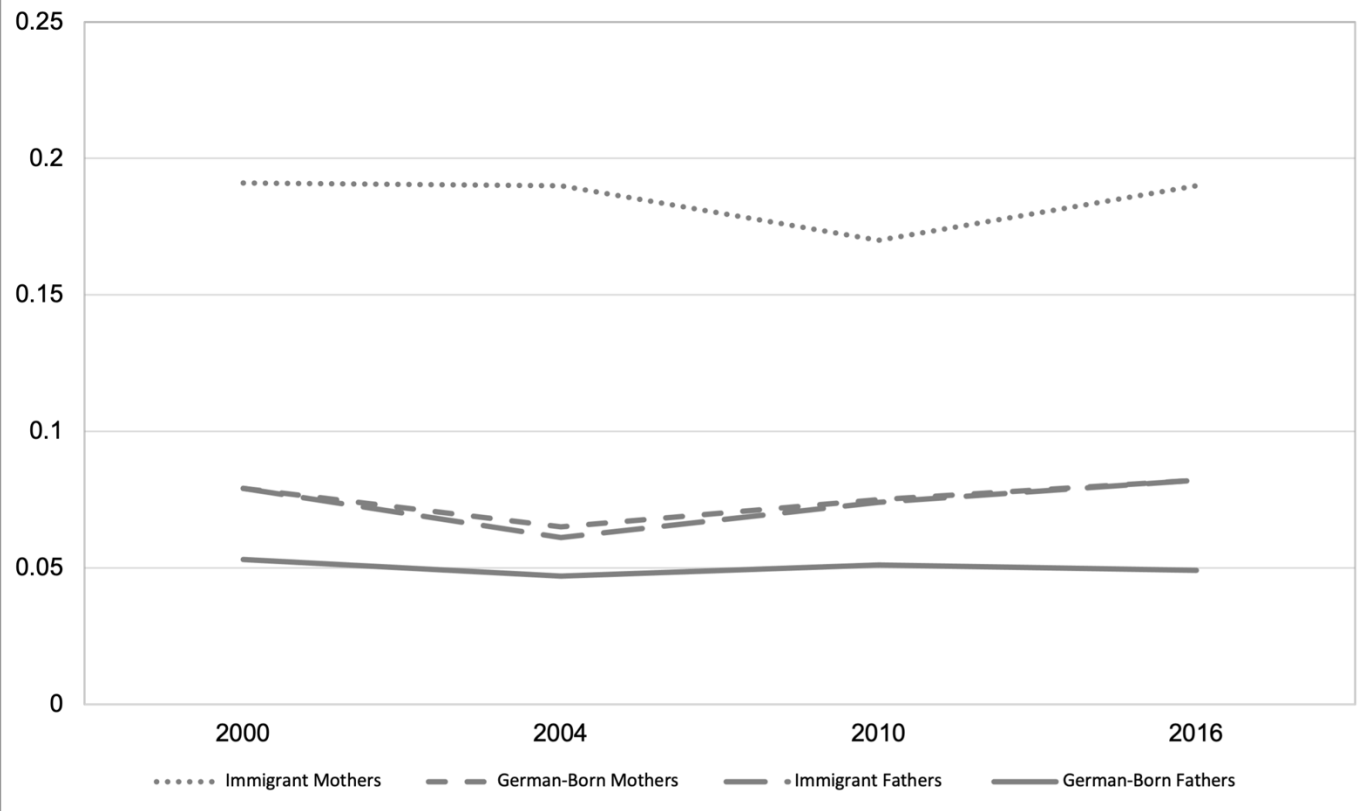


Fig V Predicted Probability of Employment in Professional/Managerial Occupations (US)

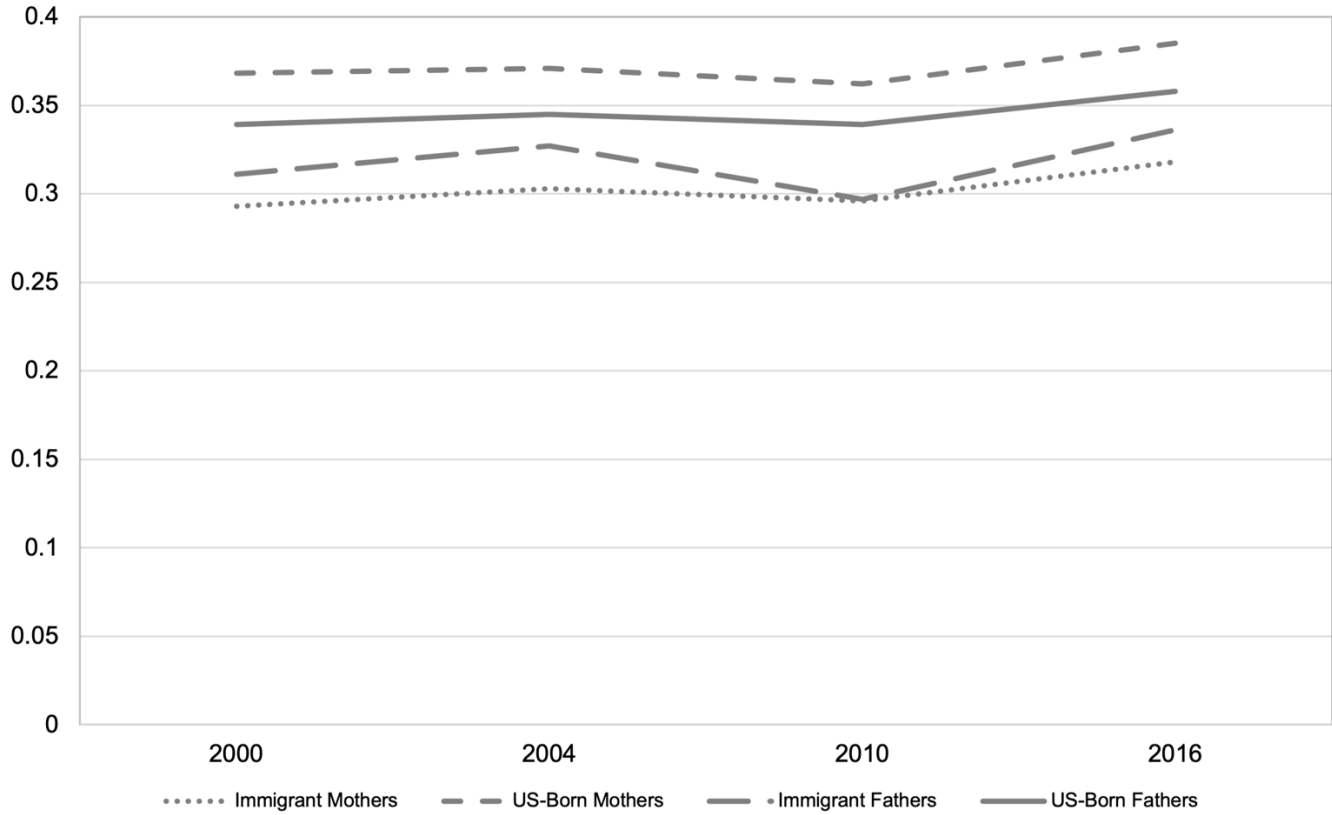


Fig VI Predicted Probability of Employment in Labor/Elementary Occupations (US)

